



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

VIII.—STUDIES IN THE EPIC POEM *GODEFROI DE BOUILLON*

I

THE CORRECTION OF SOME MISINTERPRETATIONS

The purpose of this paper is to consider two well-known passages in the Old French epic poem, *Godefroi de Bouillon*, which have been often cited, and quite frequently used as the strongest support of an accepted statement about customs of the Middle Ages, yet in which, so far as I know, no one has called attention to certain misinterpretations and the consequent very different bearing of the text.

One of these passages is to be found where the Countess Ida goes to mass, leaving in care of a servant her three small sons whom, in imitation of her mother, she nurses herself. One of them awakes and cries, and an attendant, to appease it, gives it the breast. The Countess returns, discovers this, and in great anger seizes the child and forces it to disgorge the milk it has swallowed. With one exception the commentators seem to have held that this child was Godfrey.¹ H. Pigeonneau, while treating, in *Le Cycle de la Croisade*,² a manuscript different from the text published by Hippeau, speaks of the scene as re-

¹ Cited by Léon Gautier in *La Chevalerie*, p. 119; P. Paris in the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. 22, p. 397; Alfred Franklin in *La Vie Privée d'Autrefois*, vol. 19, p. 27. The incident even found its way into history, being ascribed to Queen Blanche and her son Louis IX by H. Martin in his *Hist. de la France*, vol. 4, p. 134 (4th edition, 1857).

² P. 133.

ferring to Baldwin, the youngest brother, without however calling attention to this variation from the general interpretation. But Pigeonneau, although warranted by that particular manuscript, does no more than correct one mistake by another. The son who really figures in the event, as will, I trust, be shown, was neither Godfrey nor Baldwin, but Eustace.

The other passage which has been given historical importance, is closely connected with the scene just mentioned and depends upon it for its proper interpretation. This passage states that the Countess Ida nursed all three of her sons, that none of them was nursed by any other woman, and that everyone talked and wondered because she did this. This passage has always been regarded as one of the strongest proofs for the claim that it was exceptional in France in the 12th century for mothers of noble family to nurse their own children;¹ and, as it has always been interpreted, such would certainly seem to be the opinion of its author. However, I think it can be shown that a statement entirely different from the one universally understood is to be found here; the writer in reality declares that the Countess was nursing all three of her sons *at the same time*—they were all born in a period of two and one-half years—and consequently the surprise of everyone is easily understood. A case of this kind would excite comment at any period.

The following passages taken from *Godefroi de Bouillon* edited by Hippeau will show the reasons for the interpre-

¹ Statements to this effect are found in the first three authors mentioned in the note above and have been generally accepted. For example P. Paris says: "On voit ici que les femmes de haut rang avaient renoncé, dès la fin du XII^e siècle, à l'usage d'allaiter elles-mêmes leurs enfants. La comtesse Ida est grandement louée de n'avoir pas voulu suivre leur exemple."

tations proposed here. On account of their length only a few of the several that might be given are quoted. In the first passage the Countess Ida is predicting to her husband the future of the three sons she is to bear him:

—Sire, je l'vos dirai, la Dame respondi,
 Nos averons .III. flex, par verté le vos di,
 Qui moult seront vaillant, corajox et hardi.
 Li ainsnés sera quens, si comme est establi;
 C'estra li mains poissant et cil de menor cri.
 Et li autres iert dus, si con trové l'ai chi,
 De Buillon en Ardane, qui vos vint de par mi,
 Et li tiers sera prinches, por verité le di,
 D'une loigtaine terre que tienent Arrabi.
 Puis ierent cist doi roi, ains qu'il soient feni,
 De la sainte chité où Jhésus mort soffri,—¹

It is especially important to note in the prophecy just cited the part concerning the eldest son who is to be Eustace. What is said here, "That he will be the least powerful and the one of least fame," is strictly true, not only in the poem but, as is known, in actual history. He was a very unimportant figure in the crusade, when compared with his two famous brothers.

Shortly after the passage given above, the birth of the eldest son is related:

.I. fil li dona Cil qui tot puet gouverner,
 Qui fu de tel valor com orrés déviser;

 Witasses ot à non, si le firent nomer.

 L'enfant ont quis norriches, por son cors gouverner.
 Mais ains la contesse Yde ne le pot endurer,
 Qu'il en alaitast l'une por lui desnaturer:²

¹Text of Hippeau, vol. 2, vv. 533-543. Bib. nat. fonds français, ms. no. 1621 (formerly 7628). Cited by Gautier and Franklin in note given above.

²Vol. 2, vv. 578-589.

We have in this passage the first mention of the ideas of the Countess on nursing, in which, it has been noted, she was only following the example of her mother.¹ It is also worthy of notice that no surprise over her decision to nurse her own son is expressed here, where there is but one son.

A few lines below is found the next important passage:

Et l'autre mois après,² ce trovons nos lisant,
 Engendra Godefroy le hardi combatant,
 Qui puis porta corone d'or fin refflamboiant.
 Ne sai que vos alasse de chascun acontant;
 Che trovons en l'istiore, qui pas ne vait mentant,
 En .II. ans et demi furent né li enfant,
 Dont jo vo conterai dès ichi en avant.
 Tos les norri la dame, par le mien esciant,
 Ainc nus d'ax n'alaita ne moiller ne soignant.
 Moult en parloient dame et borjois et serjant;
 Et li bons quens Witasses s'en vait moult merveillant.
 Tant a norri la dame tos .III. les demoisax,
 Que l'ainsnés ot .II. ans³ Witasses li plus grans; ⁴

¹ It seems worth while to call attention to the fact that the Countess Ida's nursing her own children, about which so much has been said in the past, is made in these poems a part of a family tradition. Before the birth of Ida her mother received instructions from an angel to baptize her as soon as she should be born, before feeding her, and to nurse her from her own breast only.

² The time indicated here is perhaps a little less than two months later than that of the preceding passage. The only period that is not definitely given is the length of time after child-birth before the formal ceremony of the mother's attendance at church took place. For this period see the following passage:

.XIX. jours ou vint trestouz passez
 Voldrai jesir et puis a messe aler
 Selonc l'puzaige de la crestiente,
 Que li miens cors n'en soit point encombrez.

(*Jourdain de Blaives*, vv. 2356-9.)

³ The printed text and the manuscript on which it is based both have two years, but the context as well as the agreement of the other MSS. show that this is a mistake for three.

⁴ Vol. 2, vv. 632-644.

In this passage, Godfrey is mentioned as the second son, and here it is that surprise is expressed because the mother nursed her children. It should be noted, however, that so far as the language goes, she might very well be nursing them all at the same time. This is, in fact, strongly indicated by the language used here and on the following pages, where the author repeats, two or three times, that they were all nursed until Eustace, the eldest, was three and one-half years old,¹ etc. If he meant that they were all nursed in succession, why should he regularly measure the time by the age of the eldest? However, the decisive passage on this point is found in the following lines:

Onques la contesse Yde, qui tant fut prox et bele,
 Uns seus de ses trois fiex, par nisune querele,
 Ne laissa alaitier à feme n'a ancelle;
 Ains les norri la dame tos trois à sa mamele.
 I. jor vait oïr messe la dame à sa chapele;
 Ses .III. fiex commanda une soie pucele;
 Li .I. d'ax s'esveilla, forment crie et herle;
 Cele qui les gardoit apiele une dansele,
 L'enfant fist alaitier et puis ci la chisele,
 Ne quida que sa mere en sust une cenele.
 Miex volsist puis le jor qu'elle fust à Nivele.
 Quant la comtesse vint, la chambriere apele.
 "Di va por c'a cist enfes moillie sa maissele?"
 "Dame, or s'esveilla, moult menoit grant haele,
 Je l'fis bien alaiter à une damoisele."
 Quant la comtesse l'ot, tot li cuers li cancele;

¹ Tant furent li enfant amendé et théi,
 Witasses li ainsnés ot .III. ans et demi;

(Vol. 2, vv. 667-8.)

Tant les norri la dame ne l'mescréés vos mie,
 Que Bauduins li enfes, qui ot tel seignorie,
 Ot VIII ans acomplis, la letre le nos crie,
 Ce estoit li mainsnés de tote la maisnie.

(Vol. 2, vv. 746-750.)

De la dolor qu'ele ot s'asist sor une sele;
 Moult forment li sospire li cuers sos la mamele.
 Quant ele volt parler, si se clama mesele;
 Isnelement sali, d'ire tote cancele;
 A l'enfant est coru, si le prist par l'aisselle.
 La dame prist l'enfant qui la char avoit tenre;
 Del matalent qu'ele ot fu noire comme cendre;
 Dire m'orrés coment, se le volés entendre.
 Desore une grant table a fait l'enfant estendre
 Une cuilte porprine, et puis fist l'enfant prendre.
 Seure l'a fait roller, puis par l'espaule prendre,
 Son lait c'ot alaitié li ot fait moult tost rendre;
Puis en fu à tos jors ses fais et ses nons menre.
 La pucele ert plus coie que en yver calendre.
 La dame la manache moult li fera cher vendre.
 Mais ele s'enfui que ne l'osa atendre.
 Anchois passa aoust et li mois de setembre,
 C'osast venir à cort por la contesse offendre.
 Moult par fu la contesse sainte et de bonne foi;
 L'enfant a recouchié là où gisent li doi;
 Tant l'alaita la dame qu'ele l'a fait tot coi,
 De son mantel hermin furent covert tot troi.¹

Here we find positive proof, so far as this text is concerned, that the nursing scene can not refer to either Godfrey or Baldwin but must apply to Eustace. The line, "Then because of that his deeds and fame were always less," can refer only to Eustace, mentioned beforé as destined to be "the one least powerful and of the least fame." And since the three sons are all present in this scene and it is Eustace, the eldest, who is nursed here by another woman and later by his mother, we can safely assert that they were all being nursed at the same time. The language, then, where the author says that "they were all nursed until Eustace was three years old" immediately becomes natural. Moreover, we see the reason why no surprise is expressed when the mother first decides to

¹ Vol. 2, vv. 685-722.

nurse the eldest son, and why it is expressed where she is said to have nursed them all. The surprise is not, as every one has taken it, that she should nurse her own children, but that she should nurse them all at once.

So much for the published text, which is the one that has usually been the basis for comments on these passages. Nevertheless, the matter is far from being settled finally by this text alone. Several unpublished manuscripts of this poem are known, and two at least offer a version somewhat earlier than the one published. To establish the final truth or falsity of our interpretations, the readings from these other manuscripts are very essential. It has been necessary, then, to procure a number of passages from the most important of these manuscripts, which, although far from showing the question so simple as it appears at first sight, do nevertheless offer means, it is believed, for its final settlement.¹

¹I wish to express here my thanks to Dr. Raymond Weeks of Columbia University, who was in Europe at the time this investigation began, and who examined and copied for me a large number of passages. Later the several hundred lines copied by Dr. Weeks, which formed the basis originally for this argument, were supplemented by photographic copies of three of the most important manuscripts entire, and by long passages from others; so that the material is believed to be sufficient to establish the classification that is made in this paper. Still later, after this paper was completed, I was able in England, France, and Switzerland to compare all of the mss. of which I have had any information. This comparison has not changed the classification given here except to confirm it more fully. However, it has been possible to place in the classification given in this paper three other mss. of which the readings, in corroboration of those classified first, were quoted, but to which it was not possible at that time to assign the exact weight of authority that should be given, through lack of more complete information. Since the classification of these mss. has only confirmed a text which was, it is believed, already well substantiated, it has not been thought worth while to rewrite the paper. The additional

Before I consider the various readings of importance, a short statement about each of the manuscripts, taken from former descriptions, is made here and the letters are given by which I shall designate these manuscripts hereafter.¹

A (Bib. nat. fr. 12558; formerly Supplément fr. 540⁸⁻¹). The date of this ms. is placed by P. Paris in the first half of the 13th century. It offers in general very good readings and has usually been held to contain the earliest version in any of the mss. The date of composition of the original seems very well established as somewhere between 1160 and 1170, several references aiding in determining that period.

Sp. The text that is perhaps next in importance here is found in a translation of this cycle, contained in the Old Spanish compilation called *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, made, it is generally held, near the end of the 13th century. Gaston Paris in the *Romania* has pointed out the various sources of this compilation and noted that its version of the Godfrey branch is a very exact translation of the French poem as it is found in A.

importance to be given to these mss. is, moreover, stated in a note below. It is, besides, our expectation to be able to give at some time an edition of the Godfrey poem, of which the original is so inadequately represented by the manuscript published by Hippeau. It is primarily for this purpose, rather than to add useless support to a thesis already established, that we have endeavored to include all the important mss. of the poem in our classification.

¹ These mss. have been described by Pigeonneau in *Le Cycle de la Croisade*, by Paulin Paris in the *Manuscripts Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi* and by Leroux de Lincy in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*. The lettering given here is entirely arbitrary, as it was adopted before any attempt was made to classify the manuscripts. The numbers, which in one or two instances show slight variations from those given by the writers mentioned above, are in accordance with the latest corrections of the Bibliothèque nationale.

S (Bibliothèque de la Ville de Berne, No. 627). This manuscript has been described by A. G. Krüger in *Romania*, 1894, who says that it is the oldest and offers the earliest version of any of the known mss. of Godfrey of Bouillon. Without taking up here the statements of Krüger, which will be considered at length elsewhere, I may say that *S* offers the same version of the *Enfances Godefroi* as *A*.¹ Of all the manuscripts and versions preserved, then, *A*, *S*, and *Sp* may be considered as representing most closely the original form of the poem.

D (Bib. nat. fr. 1621; formerly 7628). This is the ms. published in the Hippeau text from which were given the passages above. Its date is usually placed near the middle of the 13th century. It is a revision of the version found in *A*, *S*, and *Sp*, and introduces two or three important additions, but for the most part follows that version closely. The revision was made, it is generally held, between 1192 and 1200, being perhaps twenty-five to thirty years later than the original. G. Paris dates it about 1175, making it only fifteen years later.

B (Bib. nat. fr. 786; formerly 7190). P. Paris has placed the date of this ms. near the end of the 13th century. It offers a second revision of the Godfrey and Swan-knight branches of the cycle. The date of composition of this version is placed by Pigeonneau later than the middle of the 13th century. If so, it can not be very much later and would come some fifty or sixty years after *D*.

¹I should like to express my very sincere appreciation of the kindness of Dr. Müllinen, Director of the Library of Berne, in copying for me certain pages of this ms. and later in making it possible for me to have a photographic reproduction of it, as well as for other favors.

C (Bib. nat. fr. 795; formerly 7192). To this copy has been assigned the same date as that of *B*, with which it has usually been classified as containing the same version. It does have some of the same additions but, as I shall show later, it has very many important variants from that text in its readings.

G (Arsenal 3139; formerly 165). This copy bears the date of 1268 written on the ms. and is classified by Pigeonneau, treating the entire cycle, as being a continuation of the *B* version and as having, moreover, certain parts of the *A* and *D* versions.

E (Bib. nat. fr. 12569; formerly Supplément fr. 105). According to Pigeonneau this ms. belongs to the same version as *G* and is somewhat later in date.

The mss. described above include all those which have seemed of most importance, and of which we have had sufficient information to determine with certainty their exact value in establishing the original reading in our passages. However, it is worth while to mention the following ones in addition, as their evidence is not without weight.

One of these is the very late revision of this cycle, published by Reiffenberg,¹ a much changed version based apparently on the later mss. mentioned above, and so of no great value in determining the original. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note in this text that the nursing scene is retained,² that it is specifically stated to be Eustace who was nursed by an attendant, and that because of

¹ *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroi de Bouillon* par le Baron de Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, 1846.

² The nursing scene begins with verse 3061 but the incident is predicted elsewhere.

this he did not become a king as his two brothers did.¹ This text however makes Eustace the youngest son, a change which is in such revisions perfectly natural and in fact almost inevitable, since he was the least important of the three. There is not, then, either in this scene or elsewhere in this text, any indication that all three were being nursed at the same time, nor is there any surprise expressed over the action of the Countess in nursing her children.

Three other mss., from which were copied several passages, are found, two in the British Museum,² and the third at Berne, Switzerland.³ Up to the present, the information about these three mss. is not sufficient to classify them with certainty.⁴ One of them, through abbreviation, does not contain at all the passages in question ;

¹ Witasses fu li tiers, qui Boulonge garda;
Car ne fu mie roys, ne vous mentirai jà,
Pour tant c'une nouriche de son lait l'alaita
Autre que de sa mère, car li enfés plora.

(vv. 2345-8.)

² (a) British Museum, Additional manuscript no. 36615, Knight of the Swan, etc. Early 14th century manuscript, acquired in 1901. Formerly Ashburnham-Barrois. "The Godfrey branch beginning fo. 9 and said to be imperfect agrees with Hippeau text vv. 1-5190, but with many variations" (Information furnished by J. A. Herbert, Department of MSS., British Museum). It is impossible with the present information to establish the exact relations of this MS. with those at Paris. It can be safely asserted, however, that it is not a copy of the *D* version edited by Hippeau.

(b) British Museum, MS. Royal 15 E VI, 15th century according to catalogue. For further description see Ward's catalogue, vol. 1, p. 708. This is a very greatly abbreviated MS., and unfortunately it does not contain the passages under consideration.

³ Bibliothèque de la ville, Berne, MS. 320. For description see p. 325, *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium*, edited by H. Hagen, Berne, 1885.

⁴ See however note at the end of the list of MSS. classified.

and the other two both confirm our interpretations.¹ The one at Berne states that it was the second son, Eustace, who figured in the nursing scene, leaving no doubt in the matter.² In the corresponding scene in the ms. at the British Museum, the word showing which son was nursed by the attendant is indefinite ("*Li petis s'esveilla*") but, as in the published text, we have the verse stating that his prowess was less on account of the incident, so that Eustace is the only one to whom it could refer.³

Without considering further, then, these last mentioned mss., which support the contention that it was Eustace who figured in the nursing scene and that all three were nursed at the same time, but of which I have not sufficient material to determine the exact weight to be given to their testimony, I shall take up the manuscripts that are described more fully above, referring to them by the letters there given. At the very beginning there was one noticeable difference in the readings of these mss. While *D*, the published text, and one other, *C*, made Eustace the eldest son, the other five and the Spanish translation agreed in making Godfrey the eldest and Eustace the second son. The question arose at once as to which represented the primitive version in this case. From a theoretical point of view it was quite possible to hold that the primitive version was represented here by the *D* text, making Eustace the eldest. As an historical fact, Eustace was the eldest son; and one could easily explain how God-

¹ In both of these mss. are found the passages stating that all three sons were nursed until the eldest had reached a certain age, without important variation from those given above.

² *Li moiens si sesveille forment crie et baele* (ms. 320 fo. 12vo, col. 2). Eustace is given as the second or middle son in this ms.

³ *Puis en fu a tous jours l'enfes de force mendre* (ms. 36615, Brit. Mus.).

frey would naturally come to usurp that position on account of his greater fame, in accordance with the usual working of such legends, just as we see in the very late Reiffenberg text mentioned above that a still further step was taken, and that Eustace became the youngest of the three, for no other apparent reason than that he was the least famous. Also it was difficult to see, if Godfrey were the eldest in the earliest version, why Eustace should come to occupy that position of honor in a later version. To regard the texts putting Eustace second, then, as an intermediary step in the natural development of a popular legend, was a most attractive theory. Unfortunately, however, it proves to be false.¹

I shall give briefly a few of the most important pieces

¹It is a matter of historical interest to note in this connection that some of the early chroniclers of the Crusades, chief of whom is William of Tyr, make Godfrey the eldest son, and that this error has been often repeated until recent times. There is, however, no reason to doubt the facts. Eustace was the eldest, as might be inferred from his bearing his father's name and his succeeding him as count of Boulogne. This is fully confirmed by contemporary documents and the best late writers on Godfrey have accepted it without hesitation.

Nevertheless, the confusion has long remained. An examination of the ordinary books of reference will make this evident. The following deserve special mention. A not very antiquated edition of the *Universal Encyclopedia* says, "Godfrey the eldest son, born in 1061"; "Baldwin the youngest son, born in 1058," just three years before his eldest brother, Godfrey! Most people would hold this unreasonable, but it does not seem so to the makers of encyclopedias; for *Chambers* has precisely the same statement. The *International* is more conservative, and agrees with *Webster* and some others. It says "Godfrey, the eldest of the three sons, born in 1058" and then gives "Baldwin, the youngest of the three," born in 1058 also. The date of Eustace's birth is not given; but since he must come in between, it is certainly quite closely indicated. After this, no one should reproach the author of the poem for having them all born in two and one-half years.

of evidence, taken from the published text, which show that the *D* version has regularly substituted the name Eustace for Godfrey, in the primitive text, wherever there is an indication of their relative ages. It should be observed that this substitution of one name for the other is a very easy matter, since the names have the same number of syllables, and since, on account of their not very common final syllables, their occurrence in the rhyme is rare. In most cases, the one word could be substituted for the other without any further change in the line, and many corresponding verses are found in the two versions with that difference only. The following indications are drawn from the Hippeau text. (1) In the first place it is noticeable that wherever the author has occasion to mention the three sons, as he does often, without saying anything of their relative ages, he always preserves the order Godfrey, Eustace, and Baldwin. For example, vol. 1, p. 152, he says "Cele fille fu mere al bon duc Godefroi,—Et le conte Witasse, et Baldwin le roi" (vv. 4146-7). In this passage also Godefroi is in the rhyme, and most likely is the original reading. While this order might be followed for other reasons, it is enough to arouse suspicion, as the writer would most naturally follow the order of their birth. (2) Vol. 2, p. 10, we find the following passage: "La nuit conchut la dame .I. vaillant poigneor:—Witasses ot à non, à la fiere vigor, —Qui tant fu redotes de la gent paienor (vv. 245-7). Applied to Eustace this description is very surprising; for, as has been said, he was not at all prominent among the crusaders nor noted especially for his prowess. It is however an excellent description of Godfrey. Moreover, just below in the story, the same night, the mother has a dream in which she sees that her sons are to conquer the

Holy Land. The dream, for the reasons mentioned above, is much more appropriate in connection with Godfrey, who was the most prominent leader of the crusade, than in connection with Eustace, who was not even among the chief figures.

Omitting a number of passages like those above, which offer strong corroborative evidence, we shall give one which, taken with these, can be held decisive. Near the end of our poem we have the prophecy of the pagan king's mother, who is predicting the misfortunes destined to come to her people from the crusades. In all the versions we have the following passages. I give them from *D*. The old prophetess is speaking of the first crusade. "L'uns a non Godefrois, si est chevaliers ja:—Chil est dus de Bouillon, grant vasselage aura,—Li doi frere sont joule, biax damoisax i a" (vol. 2, p. 82, vv. 2259-2261). Near the same place she says again, "L'uns a non Godefrois, si est dus de Buillon.—Si doi frere son joule, n'ont barbe ne gernon"—(vv. 2223-4).

When we note that *D* knights Eustace some years before it does Godfrey, the inconsistency is most apparent. These lines could properly be written only by an author who had made Godfrey the eldest; and since we find them in *D*, we must conclude that the author of the *D* version made the change elsewhere from Godfrey to Eustace, but overlooked these passages near the end, where his vigilance was somewhat relaxed.¹

¹ It is worth adding that after this conclusion was reached it was confirmed in a very unexpected manner. Dr. Weeks kindly examined further some of the suspected passages of *D* mentioned above, and found two in which Eustace was written by a later hand over an erasure, and the conjecture that the name erased was Godfrey, was confirmed by finding Godfrey instead of Eustace in precisely these two passages in ms. *C*, which has everywhere copied

As to the reason for the change in *D*, making Eustace eldest instead of Godfrey, the following suggests itself. *D* is the first version to introduce a long episode, describing Eustace at the court of England, his knighting and his return to free his father's dominions from an invader. It is, in a way, a small branch on Eustace. In this part the author shows himself extremely well acquainted with the country about Boulogne, and must have been a native of that region. He could hardly fail to know, then, that Eustace was in reality the eldest, and has placed him so in his revision. It is quite possible, likewise, that he wished to bring out more prominently this son, so largely eclipsed by his brothers. This last would seem the most probable reason for the introduction of the episode on Eustace, and would apply as well to the historical correction making him the eldest.

Admitting, then, that the mss. giving Eustace as the second son have preserved the older version, we must consider them in any attempt to give a final solution of the interpretations offered. I shall note the important agreements and differences of the passages cited above in all the mss. utilized. Usually there is in them a very close line for line correspondence in all these passages.

First we may dispose of ms. *C*, which follows *D*, the one cited, not only in making Eustace the eldest son, but in all the passages with which we are concerned. Next we may treat together the group *B*, *E*, and *G*, which show in the passages in question a close agreement. It will be remembered that they differ from *D* and *C* by making

D in making Eustace eldest. Evidently the author of the *D* version had forgotten in these two passages to substitute Eustace for Godfrey, a later hand has corrected the error in *D*, but the errors remain in *C*.

Godfrey eldest, and Eustace second son. In all the other important points the interpretations given of *D* are exactly confirmed. Moreover, these declare at once that the son who wakes and is nursed by an attendant is the second, or, as it is expressed, the middle son, in age (“Li moiens s’esvella”). This middle son is Eustace, as was said above. They confirm, then, even more explicitly than *D* and *C* the interpretations proposed; for whether Eustace be called the eldest son or the second son in this scene, is a matter of no great importance in support of the statement that the three sons were being nursed at the same time. If either the eldest or the second son was being nursed here, the language elsewhere makes it practically certain for all three, since all the mss. have the passages setting forth that “all three sons were nursed until the eldest son was three years old” etc.

Next will be mentioned the Spanish translation found in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. This was held by Gaston Paris to be, in this part, a very close translation of the version found in ms. *A*.¹ A close examination gives no reason to doubt the general truth of the assertion. Two or three short passages will show how close the translation is and make clear the interpretation of the Spanish.

“Ca, segun cuenta la hestoria, todos tres fijos venieron en dos años é medio; pero con todo eso, la Condesa nunca quiso consentir que a ninguno dellos diese leche otra mujer sino ella. E desto se maravillaban mucho todos los que lo veian, é muy mayormente su marido. Tanto crió la Condesa aquellos tres fijos, fasta que Gudufre, el mayor, hobo tres años.”²

¹ *Romania*, vol. 17, 1888, p. 526.

² *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 44), page 93, chapter 148.

Corresponding to a similar passage in the French mss. which are, however, not quite so explicit, the Spanish has: "Desta guiso que habédes oído primero, punó en criar Ida, la Condesa de Boloña, sus tres fijos, Gudufre et Eustacio é Baldovin, que nunca quiso que otra ama hobiesen que les diese teta, si ella non: *é criabalos todos tres en uno*, é tan bien los abastaba de leche, como si cada uno hobiese su ama." ¹ There can at least be no doubt that the Spanish translator has understood that all three are being nursed at once and that this is the matter for surprise.

The nursing scene in the Spanish is like that of the last three mss. (*B*, *G*, *E*) mentioned above, the Spanish stating that the son who figures in it is Eustace, the middle one, giving both words ("é Eustacio, el mediano, des-pertó," p. 94, chap. 150).

We see then that five French mss., *D*, *C*, *B*, *E*, *G*, and the Spanish all agree in making the nursing scene refer to Eustace, the eldest son in the first two mss. and the second in the other three and the Spanish, and that in each of these it is clear that the three sons are being nursed at the same time, as the Spanish expressly states. This leaves two other mss., *A* and *S*, which offer some interesting variants in these passages.

In nearly all the readings with which we are concerned, *A* and *S* differ from the mss. already given by slight variations only. We have as in the others the visions of Ida's mother and of the Countess Ida herself, in which the future of the three sons is told, and the fact that two of them are to be kings of Jerusalem is related. It should be noted, however, that the prophecy given in the first

¹ *Gran Conquista*, p. 94, chap. 149.

passage quoted from *D*, that one should be less famous, is not to be found in *A* and *S*, nor in *E*, *G*, and the Spanish. In fact, in all the versions that designate by the word *middle* the son who figures in the nursing scene, there is no need of this prophecy in order to make clear to whom the nursing scene applies. Moreover, it is evident that this prophecy was first introduced into the *D* version, in which it is necessary to point out the son of the nursing scene, since *D* and *C* have replaced the word *middle*, referring to Eustace in *B*, *E*, *G*, and *Sp*, by an indefinite word. It should be borne in mind that *D* and *C* were forced to change this word *middle*, since in them Eustace was not the middle son. That Eustace is held of least importance in *A* and *S*, however, is no less evident than in *D*. It is even more apparent, perhaps, since none of the episodes of the *D* version recounting Eustace's exploits is to be found in *A* and *S*.

In *A* and *S*, as in the others, we have the statement that the children were born in two and one-half years, that the mother nursed them all three until Godfrey the eldest was three years of age, and that her act excited surprise. In fact, there is no important variant until we arrive at the nursing scene; and while the language there is otherwise the same as in the other mss. that make Eustace the second son, we have one important difference. Instead of the middle son in age ("li moiens") who figures in this scene in the others, in *A* and *S* is found the youngest ("li mainsnes"), and this one word makes the passage refer to Baldwin. Also at the end of this scene, where we find in *D* that "his prowess was less on that account," in *A* and *S* instead of less ("mendre") is found greater ("graindre").

We are then confronted by this situation. All the

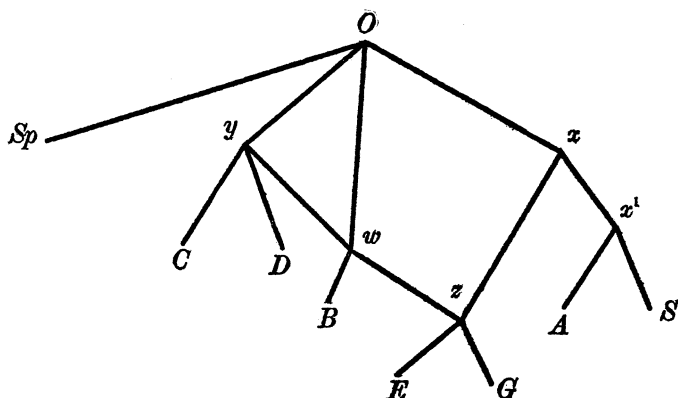
other versions refer the nursing scene to Eustace, either the second or the eldest son in all the mss., and thus make it certain that in these versions the three sons were being nursed at the same time; while *A* and *S*, by a difference of one or two words, refer it to Baldwin, the youngest, and so, provided that it is possible to interpret, as seems to have been done in the past, the passages stating that "she nursed all three of her sons until the eldest was three years old," to mean that they were nursed in succession and not at the same period, these two do not give the absolute certainty of the others that they were all being nursed at the same time. Which, then, is the proper reading in these two passages?

If all the mss. cited above possessed equal authority or went back independently to a common original, there could be little doubt in the matter. The weight of authority would be very decidedly with the six mss. making the scene refer to Eustace rather than with the two ascribing it to Baldwin. But former studies have already shown that the mss. could not be of equal importance in establishing original readings; and it happens that *A* and *S* are precisely the oldest and best mss., most nearly representing the original, while with the exception of the Spanish translation, all the others represent revisions of the original; and, moreover, some of them have been pointed out as being second or third revisions of the others. Hence, although the context may seem to make the reading of *A* and *S* less probable than that of the others; nevertheless, if we admit that it may stand, with respect to context, it is entirely possible, so far as former classifications go, that the reading of all the others could be a common mistake arising in some early copy from which they may all have descended. The fact that

some at least of these mss. are known to be inter-related would make such a possibility more apparent. Moreover, no further relation has been established heretofore between *A* and *S*, except that they are nearer to the original than any other of the French mss. and, for that reason, to each other. If, then, the reading mentioned above as common to these two should be a mistake, since it is not very probable that it could occur independently, there must be a closer relationship between these two mss. than has yet been indicated. Consequently, to decide with certainty the correct reading in the passage, it has been necessary to classify the mss.

This classification of the principal manuscripts of *Godefroi de Bouillon* is for the sake of convenience published in a second chapter. Only the result is given here and utilized in the solution of the problems under consideration. The classification has been the most serious work represented in this paper, and has an importance apart from and beyond the questions treated. As aforesaid, the author hopes to use it in making a critical edition of *Godefroi de Bouillon*, and for this reason it has been more carefully and amply made than would perhaps have been necessary merely for determining the readings considered here.

The result of this classification is shown by the figure given below. In this figure *O* represents the original, *w*, *x*, *x*¹, *y*, and *z* indicate copies which must have existed, but which are now lost, while the letters *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *G*, *S*, and *Sp* represent the mss. we have had under consideration.



By referring to the figure above, we see that the mss. are grouped into four versions for establishing the original.¹ In case three agree against one, the reading of the three should certainly be regarded as correct, unless there should be very grave reasons for holding the contrary. The application of this rule in our mss. confirmed its justness and showed plainly the independence of the four texts. Out of a large number of certain mistakes or of doubtful readings, judging from the context alone, found in each of these four versions in this part of the text, not one of significance was found common to any two of them. We have consequently, what has not been established heretofore, a good basis for a critical edition of the Godfrey poem.

We can now consider the two important passages mentioned before, where *A* and *S* disagree with the other versions. The first of these is of importance in determining which son figured in the nursing scene. In speak-

¹ These versions are indicated in the figure by the letters *Sp*, *y*, *w* and *x*. The last three are ordinarily spoken of in this paper as the *D*, *B* and *A-S* versions, taking their designation in each case from the most important MS. or MSS. representing them.

ing of this son, *Sp*, *D*, *B*, and *C* state that, on account of this incident, ever after he was less in prowess and strength. The word used here to express less is *mendre*. On the other hand, *A*, *S*, *E*, and *G* say that his prowess was greater, the word used being *graindre*. However, it is shown in the chapter on classification that *graindre* is certainly a mistake, since it does not rhyme in this *laisse*.

The word *graindre* here is interesting. It seems to be a typical scribal error. The copyist evidently applied the statement directly to the preceding line, and thought because the child was made to disgorge the milk it was consequently better off than if it had not done so (which might be true) and so changed *mendre* (less) to *graindre* (greater), thus, besides making a faulty rhyme, destroying all the point and reason of the entire nursing scene, which had been so carefully prepared to show why Eustace was of lesser fame than his brother. Such mistake could be made only by a scribe who looked no farther back than the preceding line.

In any case, the reading spoils the rhyme and the right word must be *mendre*, that word being required by the sense and by the agreement of three versions, *Sp*, *B* and *D*.

With the sense determined in the first passage, the disagreement in the second will be considered. The following readings are found in the various mss.

I. 1. *D* (vol. 2, v. 692):

Li .I. d'ax (Eustace) s'esveilla, forment crie et herle.

C (68^{vo}, 1):

Quant li uns¹ (Eustace) s'esveilla, forment crie et haiéle.

¹It is very evident here that *D* and *C* changed the word *moiens* to *li uns* because in this version Eustace is no longer the middle son but was made, as has been mentioned, the eldest. However, the

2. *B* (137^{vo}, 2):

Li moiens¹ (Eustace) sesvilla qui forment crie et
hele.

E (63^{vo}, 2):

Li moiens (Eustace) sesvilla forment crie et braele.

G (73^{vo}, 1):

Li moiens² (Eustace) sesvella forment crie et beele.

3. *Sp* (p. 94, col. 1):

Eustacio, el mediano, desperto dando voces et
llorando.

II. *S* (fo 90^{vo}), *A* (fo 48^{vo}, col. 2):

Li mainsnes (Baldwin) sesvella forment crie et beele.

It is certain that one of these two words, *moiens* and *mainsnes*, has been substituted for the other. It may have been an unconscious error, the words being much alike, or it may have been a conscious change. If it were conscious, we can understand how the word might be changed from second to youngest. The scribe, noticing that the child is said to cry for the nurse, assumes that it must be the youngest one, not remembering perhaps that all were being nursed.

However, remembering that his prowess is less because of this incident, we cannot doubt to which son the word should naturally apply. *S-A*, by the word "youngest," would make it Baldwin, the one who is everywhere else

other line given, which speaks of his lesser prowess, makes it no less clear in these than in the others, that this son is Eustace.

¹ It should be noted that *B* could not get the reading *moiens* from any ms. of the *D* version because of the different relative ages of the sons in this version. It is certain, then, that *B* has an independent value in this passage, even if we did not know that it regularly has in the text common to all the versions.

² Attention is called to the fact that *E-G*, which is one branch of the *SAEG* version, agrees with *D*, *B*, and *Sp* in this case. A number of similar cases could be found.

in *S-A* and in all the mss. described habitually as "Baldwin the Conqueror" or "Baldwin the King," and of whom we can not find another syllable indicating any lesser prowess or fame. The only one, then, to whom it can appropriately refer is Eustace, count of the little region of Boulogne, who is hardly seen in the Crusade except in the shadow of one of his two brothers,¹ and this is the one to whom all the other mss. ascribe the scene. Since we can not explain the same mistake as occurring accidentally in three independent versions, as well as in part of the mss. of the *SAEG* version, as we should have to do for *D*, *C*, *B*, *Sp*, and *E-G*, while it could easily happen in the one case *S-A*, we must accept the agreement of the others and correct in *S-A* the word *mainsnes* by *moiens*, the more so since we are making a very intelligible reading out of a very unintelligible one.

We have had no hesitancy in concluding, then, that in all the versions Eustace was the one referred to in this passage; and as in each case Eustace was either the second or the eldest son, this fact, taken into account with the language elsewhere, could mean only that the mother was nursing all three of her sons at the same time, as the Spanish expressly states. It is not surprising, then, that

¹ One is somewhat puzzled to understand why the nursing incident has been so generally understood as referring to Godfrey, since none of the mss. support such interpretation. The most reasonable conjecture would seem to be that those who have read it have had this son in mind on account of his great fame and the poem's bearing his name as title; so that passages which would make this interpretation impossible have not been noticed. If such be the case, it is another striking evidence of that common principle of the *Chanson de Geste*, that a very prominent hero is apt to attract to himself all the exploits of those of less fame. One would hardly expect, however, to see such additions to the Godfrey legend by 19th century critics.

this should excite comment, and the statement that it did so should not be used, as it has been continually, to support the assertion that it was unusual for mothers of noble birth to nurse their own children—provided they did so in the ordinary way, one at a time.¹

HUGH A. SMITH.

¹ Because one of the most frequently cited pieces of evidence indicating the universal employment of nurses at this period rests on a misinterpretation, it is not the intention to imply here that the generalization itself is also necessarily erroneous. However, a large number of passages on this subject, collected from contemporary sources, lead us to suggest that a re-examination of this question might be worth while, and that if this were made, there might be reason to modify the historical statement heretofore generally accepted.